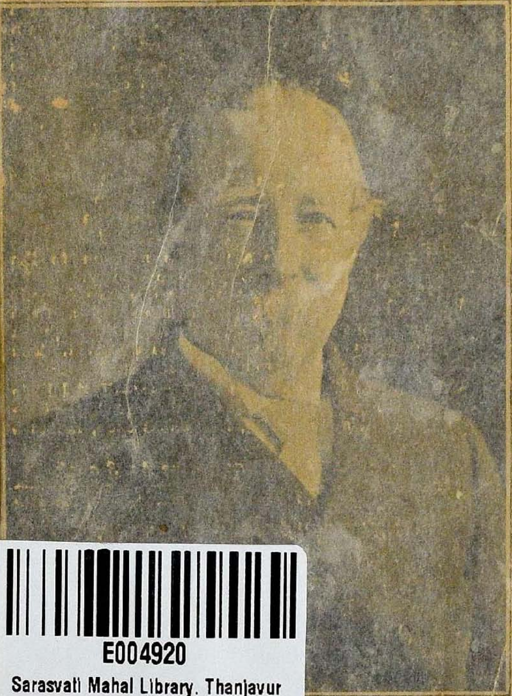
ALLAN O. HUME

A SKETCH OF

HIS LIFE AND HIS SERVICES TO INDIA



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MR. A. O. HUME:

THE FATHER OF THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT.

MR. Allan O. Hume was born eighty-three years ago. His father, Dr. Joseph Hume, was a member of the Indian Medical Service, who, after his return to his native land, entered the House of Commons. Joseph Hume was a sound Radical, a noted political reformer and economist, a power in the House of Commons. No budget, or estimates of expenditure, submitted to that House, escaped his scrutiny. His passion for public economy became almost a religion with him, and even Lord Palmerston's aggressive imperialism had to reckon with him. Mr. Justin McCarthy calls him the pioneer of financial reform. He was for retrenchment and economy all round. He had the courage to propose a substantial reduction of Prince Albert's annuity. His activities were not confined to the financial sphere. In 1835 he rendered a most signal service to the Empire, by discovering and

exposing what was called the Orange Plot in which the Duke of Cumberland was suspected to be concerned and one of the objects of which was said to be to set aside the claims to the Throne, of Princess Victoria. In the exciting events which terminated in constituting Canada into a self-governing colony, his shrewdness and insight were peculiarly marked. During one of the Parliamentary debates on that subject Sir Robert Peel, rather thoughtlessly, referred to Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the colonists in Upper Canada, as 'a Mr. Mackenzie.' Hume turned on Peel and remarked that "there was a Mr. Mackenzie as there might be a Sir Robert Peel" and created some amusement, says a historian of the period, by his referring to the declarations of Lord Chatham on the American Stamp Act, as the opinions of "a Mr. Pitt." He was throughout on the side of Lord Durham, that wise statesman who gave the right of self-government to Canada, in the latter's advocacy of the interests of the colony; and, so far as it affected that nobleman he dropped the question of economy. His position in Parliament about this period was similar to that held by such distinguished men as Grote, the historian of

Greece, Bulwer, the novelist and statesman, and Charles Buller, the brilliant politician too soon gathered to his fathers. On his death in 1855 Lord Palmerston observed in the House of Commons: "It had been said of one eminent statesman (Burke) that he 'to party gave up what was meant for mankind,' whereas the very reverse might be said of Mr. Hume, for the party to which he had devoted himself was his country, and, beyond his country, the general interests of mankind at large." Once a Congress deputation of which Mr. A. O. Hume was a member, waited upon the late Mr. Gladstone, to enlist his support for the Indian Councils Bill about to be introduced into the House of Commons by the late Mr. Bradlaugh; and on Mr. Hume being introduced Mr. Gladstone said: "I wish your father were here now." Mr. Gladstone knew Mr. Hume's father personally and held him in high esteem. Joseph Hume's wrath was kindled to white heat at any tale of injustice, or when a farthing of the British taxpayer's money was wrongly or unprofitably spent. He was a selfless politician, whose philanthropic instinct was beyond cavil and beyond question, and the father's great qualities were reproduced in the son.

Following in the footsteps of his father Mr. A. O. Hume chose an Indian career. He came to India in 1849 and entered the Civil Service. As a young civilian he failed not to impress his personality on the people and on his superiors. But what a young civilian does in his narrow sphere is not often chronicled. Mr. Hume's work, however, drew the eyes of the higher authorities during the Sepoy Mutiny. He was then district officer of Etawah in the North-West Provinces. He so distinguished himself in that crisis that he was made a Commander of the Bath, a rare distinction for a district officer. The inhabitants of Etawah too were deeply grateful to him, and their appreciation of his services was given a concrete form in the institution known as Hume's High School.

Mr. Hume saw that as an agricultural country, India's interests required its great industry to be steadily developed. He had the knowledge of a scientist—he had indeed science in his blood, and he pursued the study of Indian agriculture with diligence and enthusiasm. He mastered the recognised treatises on the subject in German and English. He farmed, in a small experimental way, for his own information and amusement;

and when in 1870 Lord Mayo established a Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce, Mr. Hume was appointed Secretary. Lord Mayo was a great advocate of Indian agricultural reform, and he found in Mr. Hume an able coadjutor. Perhaps, not many know much of the work done by Mr. Hume as Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce, as it was finally constituted. He composed and published a most instructive and interesting paper on "Agricultural Reform in India." In it he dealt with Indian agriculture from a variety of standpoints, both as an expert and as an administrator, such as the economic condition of India, the question of recurring famines, land tenures, departmental organisation, and the conditions and needs of Indian agriculture. Since Mr. Hume's time, other distinguished civilians like Sir Frederic Nicholson, have followed in the same track; and to-day the claims of Indian agriculture are recognised. Among the pioneers of Indian agricultural reform Mr. Hume's name will always be coupled with that of Lord Mayo.

Mr. Hume had at the same time been surveying the general state of affairs in India. As an official

he was able to appreciate the value of non-official co-operation. His own personal qualities won him the love and esteem of many an Indian. He liked Indians and Indians liked him, and between him and them friendly relationships were established. But it must have been clear to him that among Indians themselves there was not that active spirit of co-operation so essential to attain large public ends. He had occasion to exchange thoughts with several prominent Indians in different parts of the country, and the conviction that something must be done grew strong in his bosom.

Mr. Hume has well been described as the Father of the Indian National Congress. The idea originated with him, and he carried it out. He looked after the infancy of the Congress with parental care—with more than parental anxiety. He nursed it amidst its depressing environments; and when he found that without his constant and zealous watchfulness it could exist and perform its vital functions, he retired to his island home, not indeed to rest from his labours, but, from that distance, to guide and correct, and infuse spirit into, it as occasion demanded. He educated Indian Congressmen up to a proper realisation of their

duties. He constituted the Congress itself on a broad and firm basis, with the forethought and wisdom of a great organiser; so that it now contains within it and forming part of it healthy and enduring elements of growth and development. If Indian leaders continue to be animated by his spirit and ideals and labour unselfishly on the lines laid down by him, the Congress will become a still more efficient and popular institution embracing, in the future, the political activities of all the responsible sections of the people of India. Mr. Hume has not, even in his retirement, been a passive on-looker. He is virtually at the head of the Congress Committee in London, and through it he keeps himself in touch with Congress organisations in India.

Perhaps, not all educated Indians fully realise the significance of his achievements. Mr. Hume has not been known as a political prophet or philosophical radical. Unlike his father he has taken no active part in the politics of his own country. He has been leading a retired life relieved, of course, by occasional excursions into the field of public controversy. But in the times to come when the names of some of those who now loom large in British politics will be buried

in oblivion, his fame as an organiser and statesman will surely resound through the Empire.

He has followed in the track of Burke and Macaulay. Burke was the only champion of Indian interests when those interests were little understood by his countrymen. Industrious as he was, he had hardly any reliable and continuous channel of information and certainly no clear index to Indian opinion to guide him. By the sheer force of his unsurpassed genius he was able to get a firm grip of Indian affairs and give to his countrymen the fruits of his unaided labours. Macaulay was among those who received their illumination from Burke. Happily for India that great Englishman spent some of the most strenuous years of his early manhood in this country, and, by his work, broadened and deepened the foundations of British rule. Other British statesmen, like Bentinck and Ripon, imbued with the same spirit, laboured in India to the same purpose. In England Englishmen of the rank of Bright, Fawcett, and latterly, Bradlaugh, were equally strenuous in their endeavours on behalf of their Indian fellow-subjects. But not till Mr. Hume appeared on the scene were the Government in India and the British public able to hear the voice of India itself,

faint and faltering though it has been, amidst the dust and din of exciting polemics. He foresaw that Indian opinion to be of real help to the Government and to be effective in the management of its affairs, must be educated, organised, rendered responsible and brought into a single focus. No one holds that the Indian National Congress is a transparent mirror and faithful image of Indian opinion as the British House of Commons is of British public opinion. It is still young in years and but imperfectly developed. No institution, which has lived through only a quarter of a century, could be a perfected organisation, such as the British Parliament with centuries behind it, is. But that the Congress represents and reflects a most influential section of Indian opinion, not even the bitterest of its opponents can deny. At least it could claim to speak in the name and on behalf of a large majority of educated Indians.

It has done yet another great service. A number of Indian movements at this moment are honestly striving to improve its condition. Every considerable Indian community such as the Mahomedan, has its own organisation. Indians have been earnestly seeking to move onward in

every direction. On the principle of division of labour or in the light of the insistent needs of each community we have political, educational, social, industrial and other movements in regard to one or the other of which almost every enlightened and energetic Indian has been active ; so much so that India, which was for ages mute has become distinctly and in some cases even aggressively articulate. No one could now plead the absence of organised representation of interests as an excuse for action in a hap-hazard manner, or for inaction. On all sides and on every conceivable topic of the hour the Government are pressed with advice. What exactly is the mind of the people amid the tremendous mass and contrarieties of opinion, none but those who possess the gift of clear vision could know. To distinguish the clamour of pragmatic busy bodies from responsible opinion has been the task in every country of statesmen and philosophers. So that Indian officialdom and Indian thinkers are not face to face with any startling or unusual phenomenon. There is, however, such a thing as evolution of opinion. Conflicts of ideals are a constant factor in every progressive community. As in the world of Nature, so here too, some of

the opposing ideals will, after a time, survive the operation of the inevitable natural laws. Difficulty or danger lies where the people are altogether silent, immobile and inert, or where there is no organised opinion or concerted action. India was somewhat in this unenviable condition till Mr. Hume organised the Congress movement. He brought into being an institution or, a common platform from which every variety of enlightened Indian opinion and Indian thought could find expression. And the Congress became the parent, the prototype, the original, of every form of public activity in this country. There is hardly any great Indian movement which has not taken as its model, or has not imitated in several important particulars, the Indian National Congress. Some of these organisations disown the Congress, and a few are hostile to it. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that many of these have copied its methods, or are influenced by its example. Mr. Hume may therefore be said to be not merely the father of the Indian National Congress, but the passive and indirect originator of many an organised form of legitimate public activity in India.

If he so desired he could have risen to the position of ruler of an Indian Province. He

preferred to be a reformer, and so soon as he got himself released from the trammels of office he threw himself heart and soul into the work. The departure of Lord Ripon from India was the point at which he set about maturing his plans. Lord Ripon's policy and measures, no less than his inspiring example, filled him with hope and enthusiasm. Lord Ripon evoked that which was best in the Indian people; and Mr. Hume, like a born leader of men, availed himself of the opportunity to bring the energies and the enthusiasm roused under proper discipline and organised control. The idea dawned upon him of organised public effort; and how he worked it out and whose counsel he sought and followed may be given in the words of a distinguished Indian who, then and afterwards, enjoyed Mr. Hume's confidence in the fullest measure. In his Introduction to *Indian Politics* published in 1898, by Messrs. Natesan and Co., the late Mr. W. C Bonnerjee wrote as follows :—

It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was Governor-General of India. Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., had, in 1884, conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians

could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognised political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if when Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, they discussed politics. His idea further was that the Governor of the Province where the politicians met should be asked to preside over them and that thereby greater cordiality should be established between the official classes and the non-official Indian politicians. Full of these ideas he saw the noble Marquis when he went to Simla early in 1885 after having in the December previous assumed the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter and after considering over it for some time he sent for Mr. Hume and told him that, in his opinion, Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. He said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in native circles, it would be very desirable in the interests as well of the rulers as of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved; and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the

country, and this condition was faithfully maintained and none but the men consulted by Mr. Hume knew anything about the matter.

Out of these informal confabulations was evolved the Indian National Congress. Lord Dufferin's suggestion was given effect to, as it was considered less encumbered with difficulties and more practical. But the main idea was Mr. Hume's. He had visions of a united Indian nation. He knew that it would be the result and product only of free and unrestrained intermingling of men otherwise isolated and exclusive in spirit and frequent discussions among them on a basis of equality on a common platform. Social fusion would contribute to political unity, or rather the discovery of a common basis of action would induce the inhabitants of the various Provinces of India to form themselves into a compact body for promoting common objects. On Mr. Bonnerjee's own showing it is evident that Mr. Hume was actuated by a political idea. He desired, in the first place, to bring the officials and the representatives of the people together for comparing notes and exchanging thoughts. He meant in this manner to popularise the Government and remove all causes of misunderstanding. He had also

administrative efficiency as a goal to strive after. As one deeply versed in statecraft it was clear to him that to make Indian politicians more responsible and less visionary, they should be brought into living contact with the officers of Government, so that, in course of time, there might arise a body of well-informed Indian public men who might, like those who take part in Parliamentary discussions in Great Britain, learn the difficult art of self-government and the secrets of the success of representative institutions. But Lord Dufferin took a different view; and Indians with whom Mr. Hume discussed the point accepted his Lordship's compromise.

The history of the Indian National Congress is too well-known to be repeated here. From a small assemblage of a few distinguished Indians who met, for the first time, in Bombay, it developed into a vast organisation consisting of representatives of all Provinces and communities.

Its numbers so rapidly increased that from its own bulk it found it difficult to transact business when at Surat in the year 1907, and accordingly, it wisely and in good time got itself reformed and reconstituted in such a manner as to ensure

its continued usefulness as a deliberative and responsible assembly.

But what we are here concerned with, is Mr. Hume's share in moulding it and shaping its policy. For nearly eight years from the start he directed it as its General Secretary, with a view, as he once said, to constituting it as "a great brotherhood," whence for India to rise to nobler things. "I live for India and India's people," were the words which he spoke at a great meeting got together to honour him. In an address presented to him by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha eighteen years ago, an address in the composition of which we see the Roman hand of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, that body voiced the thoughts of all educated India when it referred to Mr. Hume's services in these terms:—

Your great administrative experience and your intimate knowledge of the people of this country, your high personal character, the singular devotion which you have shown to India's interests, and the unexampled sacrifices which you have made for her—all these have enshrined your name in the loving hearts of the people of this country as that of their first tribune and their saintly *Guru* in the path of ordered liberty and progress. Your services to India are recorded in its history of the last ten years. The National Congress has enabled the people of this country for the first time in their history, to feel and act as one nation, and thereby it has secured to them a most essential and a most important factor of political advancement. It has, to use your own words, evolved

and formulated a clear and succint programme—created a standard around which, now and for all time until that programme is realised, all reformers and well-wishers of India could gather. It has given to our deliberations and our efforts for national regeneration that strength which can spring only from united action. Under your noble guidance, it has safely passed through the stages of obloquy and ridicule, and has, at last elicited a distinct, if a somewhat tardy recognition from the highest authority in the land, that it is a perfectly legitimate movement and that it occupies in this country a position somewhat analogous to that occupied by a great political party in England. It has raised the character and the dignity of our national aspirations, has increased the respect felt by Government for our public opinion, and has contributed, far more than any other institution, to spread a knowledge of political rights and create a sense of political duties in the land. And all this, and much else that it has achieved, is mainly, if not solely, the fruit of your own exertions—the work of your own hand. Your brain has worked, and your heart has felt, far more than the brain or heart of any one else, for the success of the national cause, and it is only natural that the people of this country should have learnt to look upon you as their great guide in their second and higher birth of national life.

These services were rendered in the face of formidable obstacles. Mr. Hume had to toil on from day to day, dealing not merely with large questions of policy, of principle and of method, but doing a great deal besides, of drudgery, of spade work, not as Indian politicians are often wont to do, but with astonishing minuteness and thoroughness. He kept himself in constant corres-

pondence with leading Indians in every part of India, and when any question of importance came before the public he used his influence with them to take it up for public discussion. If in any Province the local leaders were not sufficiently active in the work of the Congress, he used all the arts of persuasion and employed all his powers of remonstrance, in order to make them realise the sacredness of their duties. On occasions he used even the birch, of course in the moral sense, with immediate and satisfactory results. When the annual session of the Congress came round he was in the thoughts of all Congressmen. He laid down the programme, influenced the choice of the office-bearer including the President and inspired them with the sentiments and ideas which afterwards found expression.

Trained in the school of official discipline he brought his weight and authority to bear upon all those who were connected with the Congress. No Congressman got out of hand, no improper sentiment or word found utterance on the Congress platform without sharp but well-meant rebuke from the leader; and so long as he was in direct charge of the Congress coach he drove the team well indeed.

The most difficult and responsible of his duties consisted in counter-working the evil designs on the child of his brain. Others undertook the same task, and it was characteristic of the man that when he knew they erred, or strayed in thought or language, no false modesty prevented him from applying the necessary corrective. Once in his presence, at a public meeting, one of the speakers alluded to the "enemies" of the Congress. Mr. Hume at once pointed out the inappropriateness of the term and asked the erring Congress orator to use the word adversaries instead. So anxious was he about the welfare of the Congress and its future that he paid his attention even to the use or abuse of words. But he took on himself the task of replying to the official critics of the Congress. Himself an official once, he knew that official sympathy was essential to it and did all he could to win general official support. We have seen what discussions he had with the Viceroy before he started the Congress. In his speeches, in his letters and by other means he endeavoured successfully to explain the objects and the methods of the Congress in order to remove all suspicion and to give the lie direct to its opponents.

One of his controversies we must refer to here, as typical of the rest. Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West (now United) Provinces, openly assailed the Congress, subjected its objects and methods to hostile criticism and otherwise sought to discredit it. There is nothing in modern Indian controversial literature more stimulating than the correspondence that passed between Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Hume in 1888. Mr. Hume's reply is an effective vindication of the Congress. It occupies forty-six printed pages of a closely-printed pamphlet.

Dealing with the time at which the movement was inaugurated and the justification for it, Mr. Hume said : "The ferment, the product of Western ideas, education, inventions and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge instead of leaving them to foster, as they had already commenced to do, beneath the surface. I have always admitted that in certain Provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, but from the most vital point of view,

the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, the real question when the Congress started was *not*, is it premature, but is it too late—will the country *now* accept it? That question, by God's blessing, the country has since answered in the affirmative; * * * A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised." Mr. Hume then went on to classify and characterise the opponents of the Congress among English officials and non-official Indians and in the press. If, said he, there was any real and influential opposition of enlightened and cultured men in India, he would not have taken up the task. He said: "I am not *playing* at this matter. I am in deadly earnest; for it I have abandoned all the scientific pursuits that made the pleasure of my life—to it I am devoting my whole time and fortune—to it I am almost giving my life, because I believe that on the successful evolution of the movement depends alike the happiness of millions on millions, and, in no small measure, the future progress and prosperity, not only of India, but also of the British Empire." Mr.

Hume then discussed the practical character of the Congress programme. Nothing, he maintained, was included in it, which was not discussed between, or in the minds of, the best and wisest men among Indians and Anglo-Indians. The improvement of revenue and forest laws, reform of the police, the costly administration of justice, the necessity for reduction of expenditure and of taxation, larger employment of Indians in the public service, and other objects to which the Congress was devoting its labours were all enumerated and explained by him with a view to make its position clearer. He admitted that in these and other matters individual Englishmen had done much. "We have, many of us done our best," wrote he, "and if we have failed lamentably, and we *have* failed, in these matters, it has been due to no lack of good intention on the part of the best and noblest of our officials, but solely to the fact that aliens and foreigners, differing in manners, habits, methods of thought, traditions and all that makes up nationality, from the people over whom we rule, we are absolutely incompetent, without this full co-operation and guidance, to mould our administration and frame our institutions here in accordance with the real

requirements of the country. This is one of the *raisons d' etre* of the Congress movement." This point was enlarged upon in the light of existing facts and in reference to various administrative acts and legislative enactments.

Sir Auckland Colvin, like some other Congress critics of the period, took objection to two pamphlets issued by two ardent adherents of the Congress, setting forth its aims in the shape of dialogues, in the catechismal fashion. Mr. Hume had of course nothing to do with them. But in his reply he was able completely and conclusively to disprove the unwarranted assumptions of Sir Auckland and justify the observations embodied in them. In doing so he traversed the whole field of Congress politics. He drew attention to the position in which Anglo-Indian officials were placed. It was absurd on their part to assume, he contended, that they were the best judges of what Indians wanted and that what they had achieved served its purpose fully. "Now," he continued, "if two men sit down to a dinner, one of whom is the cook, it may be natural that the latter should look upon it as first rate, whereas the other, who has had no finger in the pie, may think it in some respects excusable, and then

equally naturally, the criticisms of this latter, though really kindly and indulgent and by no means making the worst of the matter, must appear to the artist, who is thoroughly satisfied with his own performance, not only unkind and unjust, but altogether abominable......* * * The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is the people who have to eat our pudding, and they know ten times better than you or I, or Lord Dufferin, or any other European, how great and serious the defects in our administration are." He went on to illustrate his point and dwelt upon the necessity for the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the introduction into the various branches of the public service of a far larger number of Indians. Dealing with the constitution of the Legisiative Councils he laid stress on the wisdom of reconstituting them on an elective basis, in a proportion adequate to secure the effective representation of non-official views.

He passed on to the question of the representative character of the Congress. He turned the tables easily upon Sir Auckland Colvin who, without bestowing any thought on the character, composition and functions of representative institutions in other countries, sought to discredit the Congress

as a pretentious body of irresponsible men, from which the Mahomedans, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed, stood sternly aloof. He then dealt with the charge that the Congress confined its labours to the political field, neglecting and ignoring other spheres of activity. He referred to the other movements in the country in which many of the educated Indians were engaged and observed; "For the educated men of India are not blind, and they know well that to conquer for their country the position at which they aim, they must advance (taking the intelligent portion of their countrymen with them) pretty well *pari pasu* along the whole alone, and the men who are the most interested in the political regeneration of India are, with few exceptions, those who are most earnestly labouring for its regeneration along the other lines also. * * * *
I doubt if it be possible, in practice, for any set of men to do more along all these lines than our educated classes are doing at this moment, and independent of this incredible multitude of isolated efforts, they have organised as a *synthesis* of the entire national energy, the Congress movement, *which while only designed directly for the diffusion of enlightenment on the one line, by the interest it*

evokes, by the discussions it gives rise to, by the teachings it conveys, by the lessons it inculcates of self-control and self-sacrifice, of subordination of self to others, of personal interests to those of the nation, and in a hundred other ways, really operates with almost equal effect along the lines of mental and moral development, and constitutes, as a whole, I believe, an instrument for the national regeneration along all lines, unparalleled in the history of the world."

We have conveyed but an imperfect idea of Mr. Hume's letter. It may at once be stated that many of the constitutional and administrative reforms since introduced were fore-shadowed by him. But the letter we are considering was only one of his numerous public vindications of the Congress, at a time when, without them, this infant off-spring of his brain and energy would surely have been strangled to extinction by its powerful opponents. We wish that some of these productions found a place in the literature of the Congress published under its authority.

If Mr. Hume took upon himself the task of replying to the criticisms levelled at the Congress by eminent Anglo-Indian officials like Sir Auckland Colvin, he was not less active in inculcating

upon Indians their own duties, in instilling into them the principles of constitutional agitation, in teaching them the amenities of debate, the value of forbearance and of courtesy to opponents. He preached to them on the virtues of union, of self-sacrifice and of respect for constituted authority. No deviation from the right path escaped his eagle eye, and no false modesty or delicacy stood in the way of his chastising any of his followers when they deserved it. Addressing a Bombay audience some eighteen or nineteen years ago he expressed himself dissatisfied with the ways of some of the supporters of the Congress movement. He indulged in a great deal of plain-speaking. He alluded to the want of reliability as a characterstic sin of the East, a sin from which the freer West was comparatively free. He continued :

Here—and I speak from painful experience—men promise, promise, promise—no doubt in all good faith; but when the time comes for performance, how often do they allow any trifle to intervene to prevent their redeeming their word? It is a very serious matter; nationally it weakens you more than it is possible now to detail. You cannot rely on your fellows as a body. There are naturally bright exceptions, men whose words—as *all* Indian men's words should be—are as good as their bonds; but taking Indians in the gross, you cannot tell in the least whether, when the time comes, they will do what they promise. They often do not mean to deceive—nay, when they promise they mostly wish and intend, let us hope, to fulfil—but when

the time comes the merest trifle suffices to prevent this. They have no adequate conception of the sanctity of the spoken word—no feeling that come what may, despite inconvenience, trouble, loss they must for their own honour's sake, if it be in any way possible, make good their plighted troth.

In England too, Mr. Hume admitted, the thing existed, but not to the same extent. Besides, in that country when a concrete case came up, his fellows made it hot for the guilty person whoever he might be. But what was the case in India?

But here they simply look down and say, "Well you know it is very bad; it really is too bad," and then a certain smile comes over their faces, and there is a side-look at each other which seems to say, "How could the fellow have been so green as to expect it?" This is an occasional experience in England, but it is chronic in India, and I tell you that unless you get rid of it you will never be a great nation, so make up your minds to it. I entreat all to set their faces against this kind of thing, be chary of promising, if you will, but having promised, perform punctually, despite all temptations to sneak out of the matter. Believe me this is not a little thing, but where national interests are concerned, one of the greatest moral reforms. Without it no powerful combination is possible, with it, strength can be united to strength, until the combination grows irresistible.

In another passage Mr. Hume impressed upon his hearers the value of self-denial. He tried to convey the great lesson of public discipline:

Believe me, until the greater number of your workers are content to fight the battles of India solely for India's sake, careless who gets the credit, who reaps the fame, who wears the laurel, careless who is ranked first or last in the army of progress, by the world, but careful only

that his country's cause prevails—there is little chance of that ultimate triumph, that glowing national revivification, which we all so earnestly long for.

We have seen case after case of men leaving the side they believed in, deserting the cause which their own hearts pleaded for, joining the men they disagreed with, advocating the views they disbelieved, solely because they could thus acquire leading positions, which on their own side they would have had to work and wait for. To me nothing can be meaner or baser than this moral suicide. Here is a real devil, that tempts men to the sacrifice of conviction and principle on the unholy altar of personal aggrandizement and interest. And if ever any of you feel so tempted I pray that you may have strength to say boldly, "Get thee behind me Satan;" and to remember that creatures of day, in this world of *Maya* (illusion), honour, and wealth, and credit amongst your fellows signify little, only this signifies greatly where your ever living ego is concerned, that you should be true to the light that is in you, and that you should set your heart only on the good and true, seeking mainly the welfare of mankind, and the development of your own higher natures.

In the same speech Mr. Hume went on to ask Indians to cultivate the virtue of patience. He certainly had no sympathy with the impatient idealists who want everything good to issue forth on the principle of "let there be light and there was light." In his message to the tenth Indian National Congress he said:

"All that is great and good must develop slowly; we planted a little seed, and with much toil, and, as it were, with our soul's sweat, have nurtured it into a sapling, and here and there some tiny embryo fruit has set, and if you only persevered the time will come, long after he who planted it has passed away and is forgotten, when it shall spread a great and gracious tree, shelter-

ing the whole land and bearing innumerable blessings for all. But let no rash hand seek to pluck prematurely by violence the unripe trophies, but let all work on in patience till the ripened fruit drops with a touch in Mother India's kindly lap, remembering that not only must you all work in unison, but you must also allow that great co-labourer in all high and noble enterprises —Time—due space to do his share of the sacred task."

Mr. Hume emphasised the importance of this invaluable truth in almost every one of his messages to the Congress.

In 1895 he concluded a remarkable letter to Indians in these terms:—

"Turning to their four-armed cross, the old fathers said, "*In hoc signo vinces*". You take up your cross, whose arms are, Persistent Activity, Union, Courage, Kindly Wisdom; and believe me when I say *in hoc signo vinces*; on these lines you shall greatly prevail, and not only win unscathed through the dark day of the long winter now upon us, but in later and brighter times secure all that is essential to national progress, all man can ask or Heaven can grant."

In the year following Mr. Hume's trumpet-call to duty was equally clear. Referring to the necessity of appealing to British public opinion he said:

"And how can this British National conscience be awakened and impressed? Only, to begin with, by the more complete and harmonious co-operation of all our leaders and workers, by the development of a purer and higher patriotism which allowing a second place only to personal aims and feelings, looks first and foremost to India's good, by an increased and ever increasing zeal and activity; all India's more favoured (because educated) sons bestirring themselves in real earnest, persisting with ever growing fervency in their Congresses and Conferences in their petitions to Parliament in

their support of the British Committee (which ought to be put in the way of working far more effectively than it now does or can), by themselves coming to England and pouring into the people's ears, here, the truth about their country's wrongs, etc., etc."

Mr. Hume has always been a firm and fervent advocate of loyal, constitutional and peaceful agitation. In nearly every one of his utterances he has dwelt upon this theme. He has pointed out the blessings of British rule and how indissolubly bound up that rule is with India's peace and happiness. Indians, he once held, must regard themselves as forming an organic part of the British Empire. In the course of a speech delivered by him in Bombay, several years ago, he called upon Indians, if occasion required, to defend the cause of England as their own, with their own blood :

"Subordinate all considerations to the welfare and safety of the entire commonwealth. Hang up for a time all political programmes, and band together as one man, with one design,—to support and strengthen England. Join together—volunteer to serve as peace-keepers, special constables, and the like, so as to leave the trained soldiers as free from employment as possible. Subscribe, spontaneously, as much as you can, each and all, possibly spare. Organize, with Government permission, measures to collect funds ; and give England, in all your papers, in all your speeches, your fullest, warmest, most generous and unquestioning moral support. You have hundreds of thousands of brave and capable youths fit to make soldiers second to none in the world."

Mr. Hume was equally emphatic in his pronouncement on the attitude of Indians towards the Indian bureaucracy. He once condemned the newspapers which flared up against Lord Lansdowne. He said that though he disliked Toryism he would gladly work with several Tories for their common good :

"I cannot see," said he in 1875, "why Indian reformers cannot deal similarly with the good section of the bureaucracy. As it is, individuals and the press seem always on the alert to denounce officials without due sense of proportion. A man may for years have been practically on our side; he makes some trifling mistake —or Indian journalists think he does—and then he is denounced in terms that could only be justifiable if applied to one of our regular red-hot, cast-iron, bureaucrats who hate the country and people, and lose no opportunity of misrepresenting the former and vilifying and insulting the latter."

We have to give yet another quotation. Perhaps, Indians still remember the message he sent to the Congress held last year at Allahabad under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. In that he said :

I regret to say that as the years roll by (I am now in my 82nd year) I grow less and less able to undertake journeys, (even short journeys here in England) or exert myself physically in any way, and much as I should like to do so, I feel that it would be quite impossible for me to avail myself of your invitation. I have long desired to revisit India and see all the survivors of my old friends and co-adjutors once more before I go hence and am not more seen, but the present state of my health makes this at present quite out of the

question, and it is one consolation to me that I feel that when our dear and truest of friends, Sir W. Wedderburn, is to be with you, I am in no degree wanted so far as you and India's cause is concerned.

I wish you all possible success in this coming Congress, and this, I am sure, you will all do your best to ensure and to deserve.

And now, I should like to repeat for you, the message I sent to an old friend of mine just two years ago:—

'If this should chance to be my last message and advice, I would say to you and to "all": Be of good cheer! never grow faint or weary in the up-hill fight, stick to constitutional methods; be united; brother soldiers in one holy army, put far from you alike all selfish aims, all personal differences, be vigilant, wise and temperate alike in worth and in desert, be sure that a Power greater than all Kings or Viceroys, or Parliaments will lead you in the fulness of time, to all that you can rightly and wisely desire, and to all that you have tutored yourselves to merit.'

I can add nothing to that. May God bless all your efforts to promote the welfare of your fellow-countrymen, and lead and strengthen all striving unselfishly to pave the way for India's enfranchisement, and the happiness and growth, physical, mental and moral of her teeming children.

The time has not come finally to compose Mr. Hume's epitaph. He is still the leader of the Congress. His name is a household word in India. Mr. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji are the three great pillars of the Congress. Nearly of the same age, they are the three venerated patriarchs of Indian Liberalism. You may look all the wide world over in

vain for three musketeers, more revered, more beloved, more saintly in character, spotless in their lives and more unselfish in their passion for the welfare of nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. Never in recent Indian history has there been another great movement at the head of which stood such dauntless three. Even the tongue of calumny could invent nothing against them. Plain living and high thinking has been their creed. Mr. Hume, like his comrades, is, we believe, both a vegetarian and a teetotaller. He is a keen student of natural history; and when he is able to snatch a few moments from his active public work he would be found pursuing the study of his favourite subject. But his warm heart has always been in India, and Indians could not too deeply love him.

APPENDIX I.

MESSAGE

TO THE TWENTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

* * *

Times have changed, and the Congress has at last, slowly but surely, modified public opinion as to its value and merits. How impossible it has often seemed to make people here realise the real position of affairs in India, and win from them, even in a small degree, their confidence and sympathy for our efforts there. How often have we been tempted to say, in Clough's words :

> ... .the struggle nought availeth,
> The labour and the wounds are vain,
> The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
> And as things have been they remain.

And, now, after these long weary years, in which we seemed to have made no progress, all at once we realise that a change *has* come :

> For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
> Seemed here no painful inch to gain,
> Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> Comes, silent, flooding in, the main—

"the main" of kindly feeling towards poor India and her suffering people, accompanied so generally by a genuine desire that something should be done to assist and befriend both.

It is for all Indians who really love their country to realise this dawn of a happier and nobler state of public opinion here, and henceforth avoid carefully saying or doing anything that can possibly throw back or check the development of these more kindly feelings.

There is a time to fight and a time to make friends. We have had our fighting times in the past, and, as is the way of the world in the case of poor ordinary mortals like ourselves, when assailed by strong and unpleasant epithets, misrepresented and threatened, we have struck back, "con amore," and have given at least as good as we received. But the time has passed, it seems to me, for all hard words. With the assured position that the Congress has now attained, we can afford not only to treat all opponents and all who dissent from our Programme kindly and courteously, no matter how fractious they may seem to some of us, but also to give full and impartial consideration to all they advance.

During the past six months I have been grieved, on not a few occasions, to read statements and articles in some of our Indian newspapers, couched in quite unnecessarily harsh and aggravating language, and in some cases, to my apprehension, unfair and ungenerous in their treatment of the subjects dealt with.

I venture most earnestly to entreat all who really desire the good of their country and of their countrymen, to discourage all this kind of thing, and treat all our political opponents not as enemies but as people who are to become our friends in the future; men who, though at present imperfectly informed of the merits of our case, can yet—and if *we* are only wise, *will* certainly—be led into a more friendly appreciation of our aims and objects. Let us all now beware of saying or doing anything that can tend to divide further the people and the Government.

Let our minds be set on bringing these into closer and more mutually appreciative relations. Put resolutely aside all race and caste, jealousies and antagonisms; let the Englishman realise that there are multitudes of Indians who are quite as good and true men as himself, and let the Indian realise how many Anglo-Indian officials desire above all things (if they only knew how to bring it about) the welfare and happiness of the people committed to their charge. There are bad Indians and bad Anglo-Indian officials, but such are in a minority, and a minority that would be powerless for evil if only the many good men of each class would cease to stand so much aloof, each party somewhat distrusting the other, and instead of this all agree to combine cordially in common efforts for the commonweal. Alas! such a blessed union is not to be achieved in a day or a year, but this coming Congress may do much to pave the way for a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, and I hope, I pray, that this opportunity will, in view of this, be made the most of, and that this our Congress, on its twentieth anniversary, may prove to have been invested with the three-fold crown of Patience (to meet cheerfully the innumerable disappointments that ever beset the Reformer's path), of Perseverance (to press on ever enthusiastically towards our desired goal), and of Politeness (that truest politeness of ever returning good for evil, and ever expressing truths that *must* be spoken in the form least likely to hurt the feelings of those who differ from us).

APPENDIX II.

AN APPEAL TO ALL SUPPORTERS OF THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT IN INDIA.*

My old friends and fellow-labourers in the cause of Justice for India, whose messages you will have read above, have insisted on my joining them in writing a few words of advice (and if possible encouragement) to all of you in India who are labouring, after a fashion, to secure for yourselves and your countrymen, that political enfranchisement, which we, as well as you, believe to be your inherent Right, as loyal and cultured British subjects.

Gladly would I have held my peace. I have no flattering message to convey, no optimistic views of the future to propound; nay, I cannot honestly blame the Government, for more than a portion of the grievous disabilities under which you lie; I can, I feel, say little that will please, much, if I speak, as I must, frankly, that will pain, and pain the very people I have tried so hard, for so many years, to serve—the people that I have loved, and, despite all their faults, do *still* so dearly love.

Why should I break my long silence? Well, when my tried and faithful comrades insist on it and declare that unless I do so I shall be thought to have lost my interest in the cause, and to have become corrupted by the Philistine influences of political life here, I feel that, after all, I had

* Reprint from the "Hindustan Review" Dec., 1903.

perhaps better speak out, once for all, and at the risk of seriously offending those whom it has ever been my dearest wish to serve, to aid, to comfort, place before them my view of the struggle for political rights in which they are supposed to be engaged, and my forecast of its probable outcome, if they content themselves with wandering on, on the same mazy lines as heretofore.

To begin with, I cannot promise you any *great* improvement in your position, even when the Liberal and Radical Party come into power, which it is quite possible, though by no means certain, that they *may* do, within a measurable time. No doubt retrogressive legislation such as the last few years have witnessed in India, would not find favour or support from the Liberal Party here, and a measure like the amazing amendment of the Official Secrets Act now before the Viceregal Council would be impossible. Nay, should this outrageous measure actually pass into law in its present form (which no thinking man can believe *possible*) it will no doubt be quietly removed from the statute book, when the Liberal Party assume the reins of Government here—so you *will* be a *little* better off under their sway, but the Millennium will not quite follow their advent. Both great political parties resemble "The Unjust Judge"; they will do nothing for any set of men, who have no votes here, unless so persistently importuned, that for very peace's sake, they are driven into conceding *something*—and not very much even then. So you must not build much upon the turn of the pendulum which may, possibly enough, bring the Liberals into power

here, but which will not, assuredly, automatically raise you in India to that higher political platform, which we contend is your right as worthy citizens of the British Empire.

Again you must not think that your case and that of the Irish stand on the same footing. The Irish are represented by some 90 members in the House of Commons and the Irish have been fighting tooth and nail, *per fas et nefas*, putting their whole souls into the fight, for nearly a century. You have no members unfortunately in the House, and you are, most of you, alas! it seems to me, never more than half in earnest in *your* fight! You meet in Congresses; you glow with a momentary enthusiasm; you speak much and eloquently, and the sentiments you propound are highly creditable to you; but the Congress closes, every man of you, broadly speaking, goes off straightway on his own private business, and not one per cent. of you seem to give thereafter any earnest thought or many days' real work to poor India's public business!

My friends, hide the truth from yourselves as much as you will, but it is you yourselves who are mainly to blame for all that is most to be deprecated in your present unhappy political position. Years ago I called on you to be up and doing; years ago I warned you that "Nations by themselves are made"; that every nation, proximately, gets exactly as good a Government as it deserves; that without true union there is no strength in political movements and that until you mastered the great lessons of self-sacrifice and of trusting and being true to each other, there

would be no chance of your achieving that political freedom (and all that this includes) which glowed so golden then in your awakened imaginations. And have you heeded these counsels? You have indeed ever eagerly clamoured for and vainly clutched at the *Crown*, but how many of you will touch the *Cross* with even your finger-tips?

Can you suppose that a race is to be won by merely looking at the course and talking brilliantly about it? Can you fancy that any despotic Government—and benevolent though it may be, despotic your present Government is—can you for a moment imagine, I say, that any such Government *will willingly* yield to you those potitical privileges, which you are ten thousand times right in demanding, but which will greatly impede, nay, wholly prevent their continuing to govern the country in the *sic volo, sic jubeo* method in which alone they have faith; privileges that will automatically limit and diminish their powers and authority and equally materially diminish the number of their own race for whom they can find offices? Do you dream that the British nation here, be the Tories or the Liberals at the helm, will go out of their way to insist on justice being done to you simply because it *is* justice?

Do not deceive yourselves; there is only one possible and righteous way of securing what you all desire, and that is by such consistent and persistent importunity both in India and in England, and more especially in the latter, that sooner or later, wearied out by your incessant appeals, the Government here will be driven to concede what are clearly your Rights.

It is not in genuine constitutional agitation that I disbelieve, but only in the half-hearted spasmodic scraps of agitation, which are all that, so far, you seem to have been able to contribute to the struggle. Be in earnest, give your thoughts, your time, your money unstintingly to the contest. Make the entire year through in India one great continuous Congress demonstration; make the whole year through in England vibrate with unceasing demands at public meetings in every city, and town and hamlet, for a just share in the Government of your own country. Be in earnest; disregard all threats—spurn all coercion—prove to the British nation that you are really determined to be fairly dealt with in this matter; that you are resolved never to give them a day's peace till you *are* so dealt with; that you will spend your time, your money, your lives, if need be, in bringing this about, and, in so doing, do all, so as to prove that you really deserve what you demand and, believe me, the tremendous barriers that seem now to bar your progress on all sides, will melt noiselessly away, like walls of snow before the summer's sun.

I am weary of the constant fault-finding that I notice in so many papers with the Government in India—this is not blameless, but it is mainly you yourselves whom you should blame, because you do not—and never have done—your duty to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and your country, with all your strength and all your minds and all your hearts. The issue is in your own hands; be men, forget all personal differences, trust each other, be true to each other and of one mind; be

up and doing, night and day; spare neither time nor money and, sooner than at this moment seems possible, the tables will have been turned and the victory won. But to attain this you must be in real earnest, and struggle forward, never wavering, never faltering till the goal be won—for no good whatsoever is likely to accrue from claiming your rights, in the intermittent, half-hearted, dilettante style into which your movement seems now to have drifted.

As for the Government, again I say, don't blame it, but blame yourselves if success fails to crown your quest. Two blacks do not make a white, and abuse of Government does not lessen your shortcomings, even when occasionally that abuse is amply merited, as it must, necessarily, sometimes be. And, after all, your Government is like all other such Governments; believing itself to be very wise and capable of doing everything better than the people it rules—it will never willingly entrust the people with one iota of the real authority it exercises, nay, will for ever be struggling to limit more and more closely the little freedom of speech and action that remains to them. This is the nature of all Governments which are not immediately dependent on the will of the people; a necessary infirmity against which all the peoples of the earth must ever ceaselessly watch and which it is their own fault if they do not succeed in restraining.

An old man now and a little weary of life's perpetual struggles, this may well be the last time that I shall ever write to you. I cannot now hope, as I did 18 years ago, to witness and share

in your success; but if before I go hence, I could be sure that you were at last on the right path, at last in real earnest, at last determined (let the cost to each of you personally be what it may) that the just demands of India's people *shall* prevail, I could pass away contented, not only sending to all who are true to their country's cause, as I now do, my most earnest sympathy and blessing, but in the sure and certain hope that in your case, at least, the triumph of the Right could not much longer be deferred.

Once more I say, the issues are in your own hands—be united—be brave—be unselfish, and no earthly power can long withold from earnest, single-minded and persistent efforts, the objects of your honourable ambition.

A. O. HUME.

APPENDIX III.

THE MISGOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The following letter was sent by Mr. Hume to the Chairman of the Public Meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Wednesday the 26th October 1898. * * * *

"Lord Lytton's administration with its carefully planned aggression on Afghanistan, and its silly panic-struck attack on the one real boon of former and wiser rulers left to the people—the freedom of the Press—had cost thousands upon thousands of valuable lives, had utterly wasted millions upon millions of India's money, had disorganised the finances of the Empire and created the widest spread and deepest seated discontent amongst our Indian fellow-subjects, the *de jure* owners of our Indian Empire. Then came Lord Ripon, a true Liberal—saturated to the core with the Liberal axiom, 'Peace, economy, and reform.' He secured peace by returning to the sound and solid policy of Lords Lawrence and Mayo, where our neighbours were concerned, returning Kandahar despite the vapourings of the jingo military party (who have so successfully dominated Lord Elgin) to its rightful sovereign; he restored the equilibrium of our finances, so that ere he left India our budgets showed substantial surpluses, and he carried out reform in the only way any reform can be successful—by *trusting* the people. He once more made the Press free, and founded a system of local government *by* the people and *for* the people which as designed by him was capable

of gradual and regular development into a complete system of representative government, without which *no* nation and *no* country can be rightly reckoned FREE!

"Never were the people of India more prosperous, more loyal to their Queen-Empress, or more happy and contented than when some fourteen years ago Lord Ripon's auspicious reign closed amid expressions of national gratitude and love, such as no other ruler of India ever secured.

"And *now*, look at India! a more unhappy land can hardly be found, and I fear, none whose people are more thoroughly or more righteously dissatisfied with their rulers. And why? Because since Lord Ripon's time that evil policy of aggression abroad and repression at home, which Lord Ripon's liberal instincts revolted from, has become dominant in all later rulers' reigns, because they have given us ceaseless and unjust wars in lieu of *peace*; reckless and iniquitous military extravagance in lieu of *economy*; reactionary measures which recall some of the worst features of Russian despotism in lieu of *reform*, and setting aside Lord Ripon's unshaken, and, as the result proved, righteous *trust* in the people, have allowed suspicion and *dis*trust of that people to reign supreme in their minds.

"You do well to try again and again to fix public attention on these facts, for thus far it seems as though, for us English, history for ever vainly writes her warnings upon the wall of time. I have grown old and weary in urging on my fellow-countrymen the inevitable consequences of this wrong doing; but so surely as there is a

divinity who shapes all mortal ends, who requites, slowly it may be but surely, all good and evil doing, whether of individuals or nations, so surely shall poor England in some darkest hour of danger and distress have meted to her full retribution for all the wrongs done and now doing in her name to the people of India—a people the most loveable in the world, who need only fair play, justice and kindly trust to figure a generation hence as the premier bulwark of the Empire of which, if our present policy is persisted in, they *must* some day become the subverters.

APPENDIX IV.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.*

No more striking personality has passed from amongst us during the last fifty years. Sprung from the people, he loved the people and lived only to labour for them—fearless in his independence, unwearied in his toil,

'A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire.'

He gave his time, his thoughts—aye, and his very life—for the cause of justice. Let who might come forward with a true tale of oppression or of wrong, Charles Bradlaugh was ever ready to listen,

'The first to welcome, foremost to defend.'

Sprung from the people, an errand boy, a private soldier he rose by sheer force of intellectual capa-

* From a speech at the Dulwich Reform Club, 17th Oct., 1891.

city, true British pluck, and unclouded honesty of purpose, to parley on even terms with even a Tory Cabinet, and to be a terror to all British bureaucratic wrong-doers in all parts of the British Empire.

* * * * *

But, as I said, only a few days ago, when assisting at a presentation to his daughter of a grand address from India intended (but which arrived too late) for him, regrets were vain. That strong and kindly hand has ceased for ever to labour and to give—that mighty voice that thrilled a nation's heart is still for ever, and we—we can only sadly murmur the lines in which genius has embalmed humanity's unending wail before the portals of the tomb—

> 'But, oh! for the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still.'

No braver, truer, nobler, man has, in our time, sprung upwards from the ranks of the people; no such dauntless, able, and uncompromisingly honest, champion of the people's cause now remains to us—and, despite the fact that many of us were at issue with him on certain points, no true son of the people but must deplore, deeply and permanently, his great and untimely loss. But we must do more—and this is why I so persistently recall that sad loss,—we may, we can, we must, if we are true to the cause we profess, each one of us profit by, imitate and emulate his example.

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